

Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 08349 252216Z

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3083

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FOR SCHAUFLE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR RH

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH PM SMITH

1. PRIME MINISTER SMITH RECEIVED ME PROMPTLY AT 7 P.M. OCT. 25 IN HIS HOTEL SUITE. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED ONLY BY JOHN SNELL, HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY, WHO SERVED AS HIS NOTETAKER. SMITH WAS RELAXED AND IN SHIRTSLEEVES. HE LOOKED TIRED, BUT WAS EXTREMELY CLEAR IN HIS PRESENTATION AND LISTENED INTENTLY WHILE I MADE ALL OF THE NEW POINTS IN MY INSTRUCTIONS AND REPEATED THOSE WHICH SCHAUFLE HAD MADE IN SALISBURY.

2. THROUGHOUT THE CONVERSATION SMITH WAS UNSTINTING IN HIS PRAISE FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER WHO HE DESCRIBED "AS HONEST AND FORTHRIGHT" AND "LIKE A BREATH OF FRESH AIR" IN THE DIPLOMATIC WORLD. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD REFERRED OFTEN TO THE SECRETARY'S HONESTY IN ANSWERING CRITICISMS FROM SOME RHODESIANS WHO BELIEVE THAT THE SECRETARY HAD "TAKEN ME FOR A RIDE." HE EXPRESSED PLEASURE THAT THE U.S., WHICH AFTER YEARS OF BRITISH INACTION HAD "TAKEN THE INITIATIVE AND DONE SOMETHING POSITIVE" TO SOLVE THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM, HAD FOLLOWED UP BY ASSIGNING AN OBSERVER TO GENEVA. HE PROMISED HIS CONTINUED AVAILABILITY "FOR FURTHER CONTACT." HE URGED ME TO CALL AT ANY TIME, AND SAID HE WOULD DO ANYTHING TO MAKE HIMSELF

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 08349 252216Z

AVAILABLE. I EXPRESSED TO SMITH THE SECRETARY'S

APPRECIATION AND ADMIRATION FOR THE MANNER IN WHICH HE HAS CONDUCTED HIMSELF.

3. CONFERENCE DEVELOPMENTS - SMITH REITERATED THAT HE HAD COME TO GENEVA TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF THE AGREEMENT REACHED WITH THE SECRETARY AND WOULD STAND BY IT. HE EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT PROBLEMS WERE ARISING HERE BECAUSE THE "BLACK CHAPS" WERE PRESSURING THE BRITISH WHO ARE BEGINNING TO DEVIATE FROM WHAT WAS AGREED. SMITH SAID THAT HE HAS WARNED RICHARD ABOUT AFRICAN POLITICIANS AND THAT RICHARD SEEMED MORE REALISTIC AFTER THEIR SECOND MEETING. HE BELIEVES THAT RICHARD WILL TRY TO MANAGE THE CONFERENCE IN UN STYLE, THAT IS, QUIET NEGOTIATIONS WITH ALL PARTIES AND REACHING OF CONSENSUS BEFORE COMING TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. PROBLEM IS THAT THERE ARE NOT TWO SIDES, BUT SEVERAL, WITH THE AFRICANS "AT DAGGERS DRAWN" AGAINST EACH OTHER. RICHARD'S JOB WILL BE TO SEPARATE THE RESPONSIBLE ONES (NKOMO AND MUZOREWA) FROM THE "WILD CHAPS" (MUGABE AND SITHOLE). SMITH SAID HE BELIEVED HE COULD HAVE COME TO AN ARRANGEMENT WITH NKOMO AND MUZOREWA IN THE PAST AND STILL COULD, BUT THAT THE OTHERS, WHO THE BRITISH SEEM TO BE ENCOURAGING, AND WHO THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE INVITED IN THE FIRST PLACE, ARE CREATING PROBLEMS. HE DISCOUNTED MUGABE'S INFLUENCE OVER THE "TERRORISTS", AND SAID THAT HE HAD BROUGHT TONGOGARA ALONG FOR SHOW. TONGOGARA HAD COME BECAUSE NYERERE HAD WARNED THAT THERE WOULD BE A RAPID TURNOVER OF POWER AND THOSE NOT ON BOARD WOULD BE LEFT OUT.

4. ANNEX C - I WENT OVER THE POINTS IN MY INSTRUCTIONS DEALING WITH THE FORMULATION AND PRESENTATION OF THE FIVE POINTS, STATING THAT AT THE PRETORIA MEETINGS WE HAD APPRECIATED, FOR REASONS OF RHODESIAN OPINION, THE QUESTION OF THE TWO SECURITY PORTFOLIOS, BUT NOTING THAT AT THE TIME THE SECRETARY HAD SAID THAT WE DID NOT HAVE BRITISH APPROVAL FOR BOTH MINISTRIES AND HAD NOT DISCUSSED THE QUESTION WITH THE AFRICANS. THE SECRETARY THEN DISCUSSED THE SECURITY MINISTRIES WITH PRESIDENTS KAUNDA AND NYERERE AND WITH NKOMO. THEY SAID THAT THE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 08349 252216Z

QUESTION WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO HANDLE BUT THAT THEY FOUND THE PROPOSAL AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT. I TOLD SMITH THAT WE WOULD USE OUR INFLUENCE TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE COMPENSATION IF THEY COULD NOT GET THE TWO MINISTRIES AND HE DID NOT ASK FOR CLARIFICATION. I STRESSED THAT THE SECRETARY HAS NO INTENTION OF PUSHING HIM BEYOND ANNEX C.

5. SMITH' POSITION ON THE FIVE POINTS AND ANNEX C - SMITH THEN EXPLAINED HIS RECOLLECTION OF THE AGREEMENT. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD GIVEN GROUND ON MANY POINTS DURING HIS MEETINGS WITH THE SECRETARY IN PRETORIA, AND THAT IN THE END HE HAD GOTTEN HIS WAY ON HIS POSITIONS REGARDING A WHITE CHAIRMAN FOR THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND WHITES AS SECURITY MINISTERS. SMITH SAID HE LEFT THE SECRETARY ON THE BASIS THAT DR. KISSINGER "WOULD SECURE THESE TWO POINTS UP NORTH" AS HE PROCEEDED TO DAR AND LUSAKA. ON HIS RETURN TO SALISBURY SMITH HELD A PRELIMINARY MEETING WITH HIS CABINET, BUT URGED THAT NO DECISION BE MADE UNTIL HE HEARD FROM THE SECRETARY. A MESSAGE WAS SOON PASSED TO HIM FROM THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN PRETORIA INDICATING CONFIRMATION OF THE FIVE POINTS AND BLACK ACCEPTANCE THEREOF. SMITH SAID THAT HE ASSUMED THAT THE BRITISH HAD BEEN CONTACTED IN THE INTERIM AND THEIR AGREEMENT OBTAINED. AS EXAMPLE OF OUR CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE BRITISH HE NOTED HIS EXPERIENCE DURING THE SUNDAY MEETING WHEN HE HAD RAISED A POINT IN THE MORNING (DEALING WITH THE 1961 CONSTITUTION) WITH WHICH THE SECRETARY WAS UNFAMILIAR, BUT THAT BY THE EVENING'S MEETING THE SECRETARY HAD SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE BRITISH ABOUT IT.

6. SELLING IT TO THE PEOPLE - SMITH CONTENDED THAT HE COULD NOT HAVE ACCOMPLISHED THE "TREMENDOUS ACHIEVEMENT" OF SELLING THE AGREEMENT TO HIS CABINET, TO HIS CAUCUS AND THEN TO THE RHODESIAN PEOPLE WHO ACCEPTED IT "MUCH TO MY SURPRISE" THE TWO SECURITY PORTFOLIOS AND WHITE COUNCIL OF STATE CHAIRMAN. "I MANAGED TO TAKE THE PEOPLE WITH ME, BECAUSE I ASSURED THEM ON THESE TWO POINTS," HE SAID, AND BECAUSE HE HAD DR. KISSINGER'S ASSURANCE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 GENEVA 08349 252216Z

7. NEGOTIATING POSITIONS - SMITH SAID THAT HE WAS FLEXIBLE AND WILLING TO MANEUVER WITHIN THE TERMS OF HIS AGREEMENT WITH DR. KISSINGER BUT THAT IF ONE OF THE FIVE PILLARS IS TAKEN AWAY THE WHOLE EDIFICE WILL COME TUMBLING DOWN. "WE WILL RETURN TO SQUARE ONE." HE WOULD HAVE TO GO BACK TO HIS PEOPLE TO TRY TO SELL A NEW AGREEMENT, SHOULD HE BE SO DISPOSED, AND "ALL DR. KISSINGER'S GOOD WORK WOULD GO TO WASTE." SMITH ASKED IF I THOUGHT HE HAD MISREPRESENTED THE EVENTS REGARDING THE FORMULATION OF THE AGREEMENT AND I RESPONDED IN THE NEGATIVE. HE LAID GREAT STRESS ON HIS OWN HONESTY BECAUSE THE BRITISH HAVE TOLD YOU, "THAT I CANNOT BE TRUSTED." I REMINDED HIM THAT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FIVE POINTS AND ANNEX C REPRESENTED HIS MARGIN OF

SAFETY AND MANOEUVRE. WHILE WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THE BRITISH WILL GIVE THE FIVE POINTS A SOLID TRY, WE REGARD ANNEX C AS THE FOUNDATION OF AN AGREEMENT AND WILL NOT PUSH HIM BEYOND THAT STRUCTURE. SMITH NODDED IN ACCEPTING THE POINT.

8. DURING HIS DISCUSSION OF THE AGREEMENT PROCEDURE SMITH NOTED THAT HE HAD NOT SEEN ANNEX C PRIOR TO ACCEPTING THE FIVE POINTS. HE NOTED THAT AN OFFER HAD BEEN MADE BY THE SECRETARY WHICH HE ACCEPTED AND "IN LEGAL TERMS THAT IS A BINDING CONTRACT." HE SAID "I MADE AN AGREEMENT AND I'LL STICK BY IT." IF THE CONFERENCE BREAKS UP, IT WILL NOT BE HIS FAULT, HE SAID.

9. SUSPICION OF BRITISH - I TOLD SMITH OF THE SECRETARY'S CONCERN ABOUT UNNECESSARY PUBLIC STATEMENTS ESPECIALLY THOSE WHICH REFER TO UNSPECIFIED "AMERICAN ASSURANCES." HE SAID THAT HE HAD GONE OUT OF HIS WAY TO SAY NOTHING TO OFFEND OR UPSET THE AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD, WHICH HE RECOGNIZED WAS A PARTICULARLY DELICATE TIME FOR US. IN FACT, HAVING DRAGGED THEIR FEET FOR SO LONG HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE BRITISH HAD NOT WAITED AN ADDITIONAL WEEK UNTIL THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS WERE OVER. HE HAD OFTEN BEEN FORCED TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT, LEST HIS OWN PEOPLE BELIEVE THE BRITISH MISREPRESENTATIONS AND TAKE HIM FOR A LIAR.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 GENEVA 08349 252216Z

SMITH RESENTED ESPECIALLY STATEMENTS MADE BY CROSLAND BUT HE DID NOT SPECIFY WHICH ONES. SMITH'S CONVERSATION WAS INTERLARDERED WITH DEPRECATIONS OF THE BRITISH WHOM HE ACCUSED OF GOING BACK ON AGREEMENTS BEFORE AND OF WHOSE MOTIVES AND ACTIONS AT THIS CONFERENCE HE IS OBVIOUSLY SUSPICIOUS. HE MADE CLEAR HE WOULD MODERATE HIS OWN STATEMENTS AND DO ALL TO SAVE US FROM EMBARRASSMENT. HE SUGGESTED THAT WE URGE THE BRITISH TO BE CAREFUL IN HOW THEY CHARACTERIZE HIM. CATTO

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, MINORITIES, CAT-C
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 OCT 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976GENEVA08349
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840105-0317, N760007-0767
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761020/aaaaaqnj.tel
Line Count: 210
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <10 MAY 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <11 MAY 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONVERSATION WITH PM SMITH
TAGS: PFOR, PREL, RH, US, UK, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (SMITH, IAN), (SCHAUFEL, WILLIAM E)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006